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ABSTRACT

This paper explains the social and legal contexts that affect the status and employment of women in education in Australia. It examines data on women in educational management at all levels, with a focus on the tertiary sector. Methodology involved document analysis of the affirmative action plans submitted by 6 government school systems, 6 nongovernment school systems, 29 tertiary institutions, and 9 other organizations. Barriers to the entry of women into management positions and consequences of such barriers are identified. The effectiveness and efficiency of strategies being used to overcome these barriers are then discussed. These strategies include requiring commitment from senior administrators; implementing legislation; establishing quotas; eliminating sexist language and curriculum and sexual harassment; making institutions responsible for providing help in the domestic sphere; increasing visibility, mentoring, and networking; publicizing the advantages of women's management styles; providing appropriate education and training; overcoming recruitment and selection problems; engendering gender balance on committees; and using collective action. A conclusion is that employment outcomes for women in Australian education are far from satisfactory. Proactive affirmative action programs are necessary, not only to achieve gender equity in educational management, but to improve the quality of life and employment conditions for both men and women. Six figures and two tables are included. Appendices contain a list of respondents who submitted AA policies. (Contains 115 references.) (LMI)

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Not Advancing Equally

Women In Educational Management In Australia

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Introduction

This paper begins by explaining the social and legal contexts which impact on the status and employment of women in education in Australia. Data on women in the management of education at all levels in Australia are examined, with particular emphasis on the tertiary sector. The paper then identifies barriers to the entry of women into management positions and the consequences of such barriers. The effectiveness and efficiency of strategies being used to overcome these barriers are discussed. Finally I describe my personal experience in educational management, and my hope for further progress for women in education in Australia.

I draw from considerable experience as a woman in educational management in Australia. From 1974 to 1981, I worked in Canberra with the Commonwealth Schools Commission, a statutory authority in the Education Ministry. As Director of the Commission's Disadvantaged Schools Program, Disadvantaged Country Areas Program and Professional Development Program, I was a frequent visitor to both government and non-government schools and education systems in the states/territories (states). From 1984 to 1987 I was Director of Schools in the Australian Capital Territory Department of Education. I was President of the Australian College of Education from 1987 to 1989. In 1988 I was appointed a foundation member of the National Board of Employment, Education and Training (NBEET), the Schools Council and the Women's Employment, Education and Training Advisory Group, and had six months in charge of the Australian Public Service Commission's Equal Employment Opportunity Unit. In 1989 and 1990 during massive restructuring of higher education in Australia, I was Dean of Academic Affairs at the Ballarat University College, and for seven of those months acted as Dean of Arts, Education and Humanities. I took up an appointment as Director of Adult Education in Victoria in January 1991.

Thus I have been a close participant observer in the management of Australian education during a period from the mid 1970s, which has seen a revolution in education, unparalleled since the introduction of compulsory mass elementary education in the late 19th century, when education was the responsibility of the states. In the last 15 years, a national perspective on education has developed, with national coordination of education at tertiary and, increasingly, school levels. Educational policy has been linked to economic policy. Educational and social equity have been redefined to support economic instrumentalism. There have been efforts by both commonwealth and state governments to improve girls' and women's retention rates at schools and universities and to attract women back into the workforce to contribute to national economic growth. The position of women in educational management has not kept pace with these changes.

In the early 1980s the National Projects Committee of the Australian College of Education became alarmed at the lack of progress in the area, and in 1982 declared the issue of the participation of women in educational management to be a national priority. In 1983, the College sponsored a series of four major conferences to develop a national assessment of this topic. Over the next five years, women and men across Australia studied the participation of women in the management of higher education, primary and secondary education and early education and care. The proceedings of these conferences were published and widely distributed (Randell, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989). Together with legislative change, and research by women at all levels of education, these conferences placed the issue of women in educational management on the national agenda.

In preparing this paper I received an overwhelmingly favourable response at short notice to my request to government and non-government school systems and tertiary institutions for information (Appendix 1). Many institutions sent copies of their most recent affirmative action (AA) plans and reports, which are required by government under commonwealth legislation. In several cases I was asked to note that systems and institutions had not fulfilled all the objectives in their reports, a typical comment being: 'Unfortunately due to funding and time constraints our Affirmative Action Program is not as advanced as we would like it to be.' It is timely to reexamine the issue, and to begin by describing the Australian social and legal contexts.

Social Context

There are deeply embedded structural irregularities in Australian society in relation to the female labour market. While women constitute 50.6 per cent of the Australian civilian population in 1990, they are 41.5 per cent of the labour force, with a participation rate of 52.2 per cent as compared with 75.6 per cent of men (ABS, 1990). Fifty-nine per cent of female employees are in full-time employment as compared with 91.7 per cent of males. Women are 77.4 per cent of the part-time work force, and 55 per cent of all part-time employees are married women. While only 8 per cent of men are employed part time, 40 per cent of women are, often on a casual basis without benefits of annual, sick or long service leave, maternity entitlements or superannuation schemes. Women's unemployment (7.7 per cent) continues to be higher than men's (6.6 per cent), and women predominate among discouraged job seekers.

Furthermore, women are still concentrated in five occupational groups (85 per cent) and they are mostly found in the lower paid and less skilled positions. They are significantly underrepresented in administrative and management positions in all professions, with only 23.2 per cent of these positions filled by women. Of the 18.5 per cent of female employees in professional and paraprofessional occupations, 26.5 per cent are teachers and 23.4 per cent registered nurses. Only 9.6 per cent of tradespersons in Australia are women. The absence of structured training opportunities in female dominated occupations has meant that while one-third of young men undertake apprenticeships, only four in 100 young women do so (S.A. Department of Labour, 1989). The occupation segregation of women was reported by the Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development in 1977 to be the greatest among OECD countries (see Table 1).

Table 1 : Women's Participation in the Labour Market

Major Occupational Group:	No.	Female % of Occupational Group
Managers and Administrators	201 300	23.2
Professionals	385 500	39.6
Paraprofessionals	206 200	45.4
Tradespersons	117 300	9.6
Clerks	1 047 400	77.1
Salesperson and personal service workers	12 900	62.7
Plant and machine operators and drivers	93 800	6.1
Labourers and related workers	435 100	35.7
TOTAL	3 199 500	41.0

SOURCE: ABS, The Labour Force Australia, February 1990, Cat.No. 6203.0.

Historically Australian women can look back to preposterous arguments used to exclude them from particular studies and occupations. Legal judgements in 1911, 30 years after women had been admitted to all branches of legal study, debated whether 'persons' in legal enactments regulating the practice of law included women (Blackburn 1986). While Australian wage-fixing policies were considered to be some of the most advanced in the world, for years the rates of pay set for women indicated that the years before marriage were a 'preening interlude'. When the undifferentiated occupation of tailoring was divided into male and female occupations, the former became a skilled trade with appropriate training while the latter remained 'unskilled' (Ryan and Conlon, 1975). A considerable exercise of structured power was involved in defining the place of women in paid and domestic activities (Blackburn 1986:24).

Another structural irregularity is that women's average earnings are still only 65 per cent of men. They are significantly less in all categories of earnings, such as minimum award and ordinary time; all components of earnings, such as overtime and overaward payments; all major occupational groupings; and in most benefit categories, such as assisted mortgage payments and life assurance (NWCC, 1990). In Australia's history we have seen the familiar 'tipping effect' which occurs overseas, where men move out of professions as women move into them, and formerly well paid jobs become moderately or low paid, for example teaching, secretarial work and, more recently, bank telling. In prestigious areas like medicine, women tend to cluster in the area of general practice rather than becoming highly paid specialists.

It is extremely difficult to achieve equal access to well paid jobs through legal processes (Scutt 1990). The lack of adequate child care remains a major constraint to women's full participation in the labour force, yet child care is still not seen by the Australian Industrial Relations Commission as an industrial issue. This is unacceptable given that child care is 'central to women's opportunities for promotion, participation in overtime and access to particular jobs' (Ibid.: 129). Without the provision of child care, women's right to return to work after maternity leave is worthless.

In Australia, the lack of child care has contributed to education remaining a blatantly hierarchical profession: while school teachers are still mostly female, school administrators and professors of education are overwhelmingly male. However the retention rates for girls at school has increased dramatically, and in 1988 there were some 215 000 women students in higher education, representing just over half the total student population. This was the second year in succession that female students outnumbered male students. Despite this increase, two broad fields of study still dominate women's enrolments in higher education - nearly one-third are enrolled in arts courses and one quarter in teacher education. Only small proportions of women students are enrolled in science and engineering compared with male students. In terms of course level, women are underrepresented in postgraduate courses although their position has improved in recent years (DEET, 1989).

At the 1985 United Nations End of the Decade Conference for Women, in Nairobi, the Australian delegates endorsed the main conference document entitled The Nai*robi Forward Looking Strategies*. This challenged governments to develop adequate, comprehensive and coherent national policies to abolish all obstacles to the full and equal participation of women in all spheres of society by the year 2000. *The National Agenda for Women* (1989) has been devised to provide the basis for continued government action towards achieving equality for women and men. The *Agenda* identifies, *inter alia*, the importance of greater female participation in decision making and sets as an objective the achievement of equal representation wherever possible on government committees.

Government programs with human rights and equal employment opportunity (EEO) significance arising out of obligations under international conventions and treaty obligations are now in place in Australia. In addition there are several important general trends in Australian society that influence the implementation of EEO. Economic and industry imperatives are demanding a higher level of skills, more adaptability and higher levels of productivity. The community is demanding greater efficiency in government, business and industry. The emphasis on quantitative indicators to measure results is growing across the employment, education and training sectors. Human resource management is becoming an important management strategy to achieve objectives. The trend to devolve decision making from central agencies to line managers continues, with a corresponding need to equip managers with the skills and information to integrate EEO into daily management procedures.

EEO in Australia is a fairly recent phenomenon but it is having an important influence on the social context. It has been pioneered by the Australian Public Service (APS). After years of discrimination, in 1949 single women were allowed to work in clerical/administrative jobs for the first time in the APS, but had to resign on marriage. In 1966 the marriage bar was abolished and equal pay decisions were implemented over the 1969-74 period. In 1970 the higher Clerical Selection Test pass mark for women than men was abolished and the 12 year process of

abolishing 'men only' and 'women only' jobs began in 1972. Paid maternity leave was introduced in 1973, the same year the upper age limits for clerical/keyboard appointments were withdrawn (Radford, 1990). These milestones set the scene for the legislative changes that began to occur in the 1970s.

Legal Context

Australian developments tend to lag behind those in other Western countries; for example, we still do not have a constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights. As in other countries, the common law did not provide for women to be treated equally, and legislative intervention was necessary to combat discrimination.

The spate of commonwealth legislation about EEO, which changed the rules and therefore began to change behaviour in Australia, had its origins in 1973 with the Australian Government's ratification of the 1965 International Labour Organisation Convention on Equal Opportunity and Equal Treatment for Men and Women Workers. In 1975 South Australia passed the Sex Discrimination Act and in 1977 the Commonwealth, New South Wales and Victoria followed suit. In 1984 the Commonwealth's legislation was amended when the Sex Discrimination Act was passed to give effect to certain provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the Public Service Reform Act was passed to deal with specific equity issues in employment. In 1986 the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Act and Affirmation Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Acts were legislated and in 1987 a further EEO (Commonwealth Authorities) Act was passed. In addition each State has its own legislation, such as the Equal Opportunity Act 1986 in South Australia, which provides a process for redress of discrimination.

In 1983 the Labor Government required higher education institutions to adopt equal opportunity policies for the first time. The Sex Discrimination Act 1984 introduced complaints-oriented anti-discrimination legislation which did not assist in achieving widespread positive changes. The Affirmative Action Act 1986 therefore obliged institutions to adopt AA policies, in the belief that responsibility should be with employers and institutions rather than individuals. Employers were required to collect and record statistics and related information concerning employment, including the number of employees of either sex and the types of jobs undertaken by, or job classifications of, employees of either sex. Producing annual staff statistics was intended to enable tertiary institutions to assess accurately the needs for AA and the effectiveness of measures undertaken to ensure women have equal access to opportunities for work at senior level. However no public funds were provided to implement the Acts and in many cases government policy has encouraged institutions both to adopt the rhetoric and to do very little by way of real practical change.

The statutory framework for EEO programs is contained in Section 22B of the Public Service Act 1984. Provisions relating to merit-based selection and the prohibition of discrimination, patronage and favouritism are found in this Act. It provides for the use of quantitative or other indicators to assist in assessing the effectiveness of EEO programs. The commonwealth Public Service Commissioner has the power and functions to guide and monitor EEO programs (Public Service Commission (PSC), 1989). The government annually reiterates its strong commitment to EEO and emphasises that there must be no diminution of effort in this area. The commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training is required under Section 22B of the Public Service Act to report on its EEO Program. The PSC monitors staffing statistics through the APS Continuous Record of Personnel, develops performance indicators for EEO throughout the APS and reports annually on progress with target groups. The new initiative of award restructuring is expected to lead to fundamental changes in work organisation, career paths and pay structures in the APS. The PSC is studying the implications of this and has also prepared guidelines on eliminating sexual harassment.

The continued educational effect of these Acts has been the result of the appointment of EEO coordinators, and the establishment of sexual harassment procedures and EEO/AA (affirmative action) policies and programs. The network of agencies and information systems has

heightened awareness of discriminatory practices and created the climate for strategies to increase the number of women in educational management in Australia.

Nevertheless, despite having the legislation in place and the enormous energy which has been expended on alleviating the generalised inequities of the workplace, progress resulting from legislation has been slow. Thornton (1989: 115) argued that 'lobbying for legislation and institutional measures has deflected attention away from the actual content of affirmative action programmes themselves'. The legislation mandates little more than data collection and report production and fails to define appropriate actions or measures that may be taken to eliminate discrimination in employment matters. While consultations with trade unions and with women are encouraged, they have no binding force. Penalties against non-compliance are minimal. The most specific point in the 'nebulous and abstract language ' of the Australian Act, according to Thornton, is the express reference to the consummate role of merit in ensuring that unqualified women are not appointed. 'Nothing in this Act shall be taken to require a relevant employer to take any action incompatible with the principle that employment matters should be dealt with on the basis of merit' (section 3(4)). This is stated in the absence of any definition of merit, which thus rationalises the continuation of the practice of appointing 'Anglo-Celtic, heterosexual, able-bodied middle-class men' into 'well-paid and prestigious positions'. The concern of the legislation appears to be more about ensuring everyone has an equal chance to compete rather than the actual outcomes for women.

Thornton paid some attention to the backlash in Australia against legislation for affirmative action programs where Moens (1985) has argued that white men are the 'innocent victims' of attempts to benefit 'undeserving and questionable women', and Stove (1985) calls for the reduction of feminist pressure before the quality of academic staff is 'disastrously worsened'. Thornton (1989: 118) argued that men of all political persuasions are privileged by 'the nature of the psychosexual power flowing from the maintenance of women in subordinate roles as wives, mistresses, secretaries and research assistants', and are often blind to the inequality experienced by women. The overwhelmingly genderised hierarchy in institutions ranks maleness highly and devalues femaleness, particularly in universities where the 'handmaiden image' of both academic and general women staff is broken only by the appointment of 'occasional, exceptionally well qualified academic women'.

While legislation is relatively recent, Australia is able to draw on a substantial body of case law relating to overseas antidiscrimination legislation. It is significant that in Australia sanctions for non-compliance are weak, and only three cases of indirect discrimination had received judicial treatment by 1990. Women are reluctant to take legal action because of the difficulty of proving indirect discrimination through problems of proof, lack of statistics and preconceived ideas held by decision makers. Further the PSC Merit Protection Review Agency (MPRA) has conducted workshops for target group members which have uncovered a widespread perception that to challenge selection decisions is to risk victimisation in the workplace. It seems that the loss of appeal procedures at senior levels in the PSC, has reduced the likelihood that aggrieved staff will challenge decisions, and has not been accompanied by appropriate use of the review process. Members of target groups at senior levels who believe they have been discriminated against are frequently advised against using the review process, because the way they handle such career setbacks may be used to judge their competence for further promotion. Research indicates that questioning what are seen to be unjust decisions may well lead to unfavourable assessments of attitudes and qualities, such as judgement. A proper independent public review process is absolutely central to effective antidiscrimination practice. The 1990s will be a significant decade in Australia for developing case law on what is lawful and unlawful under the sections of Acts dealing with forms of indirect discrimination. Such complaints may well give further impetus to the development of adequate EEO and AA programs.

This paper briefly examines the effects of this social and legislative framework in Australia on the participation of women in educational management, first in early childhood, primary and secondary education and then in adult education, technical and further education (TAFE) and universities.

Early Childhood Education

Early childhood education and care occupations in Australia are generally associated with the strong sex segregation characteristic of Australian employment. Specific employment patterns are difficult to ascertain because workers come under different authorities and organisational patterns from state to state and there is a large amount of volunteer and unpaid labour for which no data is available. The career progression for early childhood workers after directing a child care or early childhood centre lies away from direct work in the field. Although the great majority of early childhood workers are female, Maling (1989: 19) reported that, with some notable exceptions, while the responsibility for delivery of education and care was in the hands of women, most of the top jobs for organising, planning and administering early childhood education were in the hands of men.

Primary and Secondary Education

In the primary and secondary education areas in Australia it is necessary to discuss the government and non-government systemic arrangements and statistics separately. The availability of statistics is patchy because some systems have not yet established an accurate EEO data base to provide the necessary range of information sought and some current computer systems have limited reporting options.

In all states, major restructuring of education systems over the last decade has been accompanied by significant trauma. An interesting trend has emerged in several states as women come to the top office of education as ministers or chief executives following this period of upheaval and disarray, bearing olive branches as peacemakers; humanitarian but thoroughly professional women who symbolically temper efficiency with compassion (Beare, 1990). The appointment of the first state heads of department have occurred since 1987 with Ann Morrow as chief executive in Victoria and in 1989, Margaret Nadebaum as director general of education in Western Australia. The latest prominent female appointment in education has been Virginia Chadwick in 1991 to replace Terry Metherell as education minister in New South Wales, again after a tumultuous reform program. Prior to becoming premiers in Victoria and Western Australia, both Joan Kirner and Dr Carmel Laurence had been ministers for education, taking over dispirited school systems with huge departments created by large scale restructuring. However, these few women who have achieved national prominence by coming to the top in education appointments conceal a dismal picture overall.

Government Systems

In 1983 Chapman (1984) undertook two major studies in relation to Australian school principals which provided benchmark data on the personal and professional characteristics of principals, and detailed information on the procedures adopted in principal selection. The data showed that only 23 per cent of Australian school principals were women. Women were least likely to be principals in government schools: only 15 per cent in primary, 9 per cent in secondary and 7 per cent in schools combining both primary and secondary levels.

These data were against a background of a huge drop of women in top positions within schools and at administrative level in Australia. For example, in primary schools in Victoria where just over 70 per cent of all teachers are women, just over one-third of the top positions were held by women in 1973, but by 1983 the proportion had fallen to less than one in five (Bretherton, 1987: 26). Similarly, in the secondary schools where women are also in the majority, the proportion of women in principal posts dropped from 20 per cent in 1971 to 11 per cent in 1983. More recently, at system level there has been an improvement with 6 per cent of women in senior executive service positions in 1984 (10 of 162) rising to 14 per cent in 1988 (12 of 85).

An interesting observation of the effect of any kind of restructuring of education in Australia, even when supposedly to do otherwise, is that it operates against improving the position of women in management. The amalgamation of infants and primary schools, where there were large numbers of female infant school principals, did not lead to increased numbers of female

principals. Nor did the amalgamation of single sex schools (with mostly female principals in charge of girls schools) to comprehensive schools. A study of the effect of the 1984 introduction of school council involvement in the selection of principals in Victorian schools (SBE, 1986) found that women were underrepresented in each category of promotion position compared to their numbers in the sector and there was a progressive decline in the numbers of women compared to men at each stage. The study also reported that women's preferred areas of administration (curriculum and welfare) were undervalued by the schools and not considered as administrative experience, they were constrained in their access to other male-dominated areas, and even when possessing similar administrative experiences as men, they suffered discrimination on the basis of their leadership styles. Only 86 of 946 applicants were women (9.1 per cent) in the first three rounds of interviews where there was community involvement in selection.

The following examples from the other states illustrate the difficulties and some attempts to deal with them.

A recent report released by the Ministry of Education in Queensland in October 1990 found that although 70 per cent of teaching staff were women they held only 8.5 per cent of senior positions in the Ministry - 12 women of a total of 142. A major affirmative action program has been foreshadowed.

Facing similar statistics, South Australia has used the strategy of opening up some of its principal positions to people outside seniority lists resulting in many more applications from, as well as appointments of, women.

In 1987 the Ministry of Education in Western Australia obtained a five-year exemption from the provisions of the Equal Opportunity Act to retain gender-linked deputy principal positions in order to keep women in senior management positions. This was prompted by a challenge to the Act about the validity of having a deputy principal (female) as an establishment position. Changes to the senior administrative structure at the beginning of 1987 reduced the numbers of women in this level of management from 17 per cent to 7 per cent (Brown, 1987).

The data from Tasmania also indicates that the promotion criteria, procedures and structures adopted in the past have operated to give male teachers an advantage in career opportunities (Maclean, 1990). The numbers of women in principal positions and above were only 16 per cent of all seniority positions in 1989. The same year, agreement was reached to set targets of at least one leadership position in schools to be filled by a woman, with women holding allowance positions in schools to the level of 40 per cent or the gender balance of the school, whichever is the greater.

The 1987 EEO report for the Australian Capital Territory stated that the proportion of women gaining promotion had risen but at a rate that would require several decades to overcome the present imbalance between proportions of women in the service and their proportions in promotion positions. In some sectors, for example Band 2 secondary women, their position had been eroded. The proportion of females promoted to Band 2 and Band 3 primary and Band 3 secondary were less than their proportion in the group from which promotees were drawn. In the ACT some progress has been made in the secondary area at the level 3 classification which in 1990 constituted 34 per cent women, however that is still only a fraction more than half of the male component of 66 per cent. The removal of the Level 3 deputy principal position in a recent restructuring was identified as the creation of a new barrier for women. In the past women had used this position as a training ground for moving to the next level, and are now seeing the resultant gulf as too large to bridge.

Thus all states have expressed dissatisfaction about progress being made in increasing the rate of women moving into management positions and are examining further implementation of affirmative action.

Catholic Systems

Traditionally there has been a high proportion of women in principal positions in Catholic schools but this has been declining. In 1977, 80 per cent of Catholic primary school principals in the New South Wales system were women (Goldsmith, 1989: 24). In 1984, 63 per cent of principals in Catholic primary schools across Australia were women and most were members of religious orders and over 45 years of age (Chapman, 1984). In 1989 in New South Wales 64 per cent of primary principals were female compared with 36 per cent at secondary level. The position across Australia though is uneven with only 28 per cent of female principals in Queensland secondary schools in 1986 (McDonald, 1987). With the retirement and withdrawal of female religious, young lay men are increasingly being appointed to principal positions, especially in girls schools.

In Australia the Catholic sector has traditionally been diverse, with schools operating relatively independently until the advent of commonwealth funding in the 1970s. There is now a powerful National Catholic Education Commission (NCEC) as well as eight state Catholic Education Offices.

In 1990 there were three women among the 17 members of the NCEC, one nominee of the major superiors of the religious in Australia and two of the three nominees on the Bishops' Committee for Education, and no women on the executive. During 1989 the NCEC continued as a coordination agency for Catholic authorities for activities related to the *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australia*, which the NCEC has endorsed. An NCEC statement on *The Education of Girls in Australian Catholic Schools* was published in April 1989 (NCEC, 1989). In 1990 the NCEC reported on progress being made with the education of girls in each state (NCEC, 1990). While most of the activities were to do with the education of girls in classrooms, NCEC and the ACT Catholic Education Office reported undertaking an examination of school practices, such as school organisation and the appointment and allocation of staff, through surveys, evaluations and reports, as part of their strategy to ensure that girls' needs were met equitably in school practices.

In 1984 the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria set up a working party on equal opportunity in Victorian Catholic schools. The Committee carried out a survey of lay teachers in Catholic secondary schools, the results of which were analysed by McArthur (1984). The working party recommended that a seminar for all women educators in Catholic education who hold positions of responsibility at any level be held to acquaint them with the findings of the survey, encourage them to form networks of support for women within their schools, and raise the level of awareness of principals to the need to encourage women staff members to undertake further study, particularly in the area of educational administration, and to give concrete support in this area. Other recommendations included collecting annual statistics on the numbers of men and women holding positions of responsibility in all Catholic schools, conducting courses in leadership and educational administration for equal numbers of men and women, offering ten sponsorships - five each in primary and secondary - annually to women, and restructuring salary scales to provide status in areas other than administration. As a result of this activity the CECV approved a Policy Statement on the Participation of Women in Catholic Education in 1986. The policy acknowledged the disproportionate number of men among those who hold leadership roles on educational committees, which did not reflect the true nature of the equal worth of men and women in structures and organisational practices. The policy endorsed as general principles 'the fundamental and equal right of men and women to be represented at all levels of leadership and management within Catholic education; and participate in policy formulation and decision-making within Catholic Education' (CECV, 1986). Since that date, statistics on the numbers of men and women holding positions of responsibility in schools have been collected and published annually.

Similar attention is being given to the position of women in educational management in Catholic systems and schools in all states. For example the Northern Territory Catholic Education Commission is implementing deliberate strategies to increase the number of women in the decision-making process. The major areas of concern in the Catholic sector remain the

male domination of secondary executive positions as opposed to the converse in primary schools, the dominance of males at the senior executive level of the Catholic education offices, and a gender imbalance on Commission committees.

Independent Schools

Like Catholic schools, many independent schools are connected with churches which in their structure and practices support a traditional view of women's place in society. In 1983 women constituted 29 per cent of principals in primary schools, 20 per cent in secondary schools and 35 per cent in schools combining both primary and secondary levels (Chapman, 1983). The number of women principals is declining as, with the amalgamation of boys and girls schools, men are being appointed almost exclusively to head the coeducational bodies.

Tertiary Sector

The discussion of equity in the tertiary sector in this paper includes reference to technical and further education (TAFE) and universities, which include colleges of advanced education since the recent amalgamation of tertiary institutions.

Technical and Further Education

The numbers of women holding decision-making positions and participating on decision-making bodies in TAFE is difficult to determine at a national level because of the restructuring occurring in some TAFE systems. In particular, staff development participation and expenditure by gender is not currently recorded in most systems. It is therefore not known whether women are receiving an equitable share of opportunities and funds. However the historic involvement of TAFE in trade training, which is overwhelmingly male dominated, has shaped the structure and culture of a system that is not yet inclusive of women. TAFE has a high sessional or non-permanent staff component which particularly affects women. TAFE is not affected by AA legislation reporting requirements, so in 1990 a National Action Plan for Women in TAFE was developed by the Employment and Further Skills Council of NBEET. This action is a response to a climate of considerable frustration in the TAFE sector where, for the past decade, admirable policy statements and good intentions have failed to meet the expectations of women. The Plan aims to eliminate discrimination from all TAFE's operations: student selection processes, resource allocation, financial support and fee structures, curriculum and delivery methodologies, college environment and support services, articulation and credit transfer, staffing, staff development and decision-making processes.

New South Wales provided significant leadership for women in TAFE for some years but in the context of a change of government, budget cuts and restructuring, some of the specific EEO units were lost.

Restructuring of the sector in Victoria which led to the introduction of the TAFE Management Service (TMS) in 1987, had a similar devastating effect on women. The Ministerial Advisory Committee on Women and Girls in Victoria undertook a research project to review the impact of the new structure in 1989. The Committee found that the introduction of the TMS at a time when major changes were occurring in the system at state and federal levels led to non-negotiable cost restraints which disadvantaged women. Some of the old system's acknowledged disadvantages were entrenched in the new. For example, the particular organisational arrangements of schools into divisions in TAFE and the eligibility requirement that heads must have taught in a school within the division limits the career paths available to women and has the effect of maintaining male ghettos where senior women are unable to compete for positions.

Pocock (1985) documented evidence of the male culture in many areas of TAFE which she found to be actively hostile to the entry of women. The more marked resistance to EEO strategies may well be a result of the major gender differentiation in TAFE curriculum. Another difficulty found in newly centralised systems is to convince relatively independent institutions to adopt consistent equity strategies across the systems.

Although detailed statistics are not currently available, few women have reached senior management positions in the TAFE sector.

Universities

Over the last 15-20 years in Australia, women have come to constitute about half the undergraduate population in higher education institutions, concentrated in non-science and technology areas. This achievement does not carry over, however, into the recruitment of graduate students nor into the staffing of higher education institutions. Female academics are virtually non-existent in some faculties, particularly in Engineering. There are few women at the professor or associate professor/reader level so of course academic salaries are differentiated along gender lines. While these gender differentials reflect the weight of accumulated patterns of historical privilege and disadvantage, most institutions have done next to nothing to change or reshape these patterns (Yeatman 1988: 40).

Few tertiary institutions surveyed for this paper were pleased with the mostly minimal gains made in improving gender balance in senior management positions. While there had been some improvement in female participation it had not been spectacular, in many cases despite a visible EEO and AA policy. In their response to the paper, Queensland University of Technology commented:

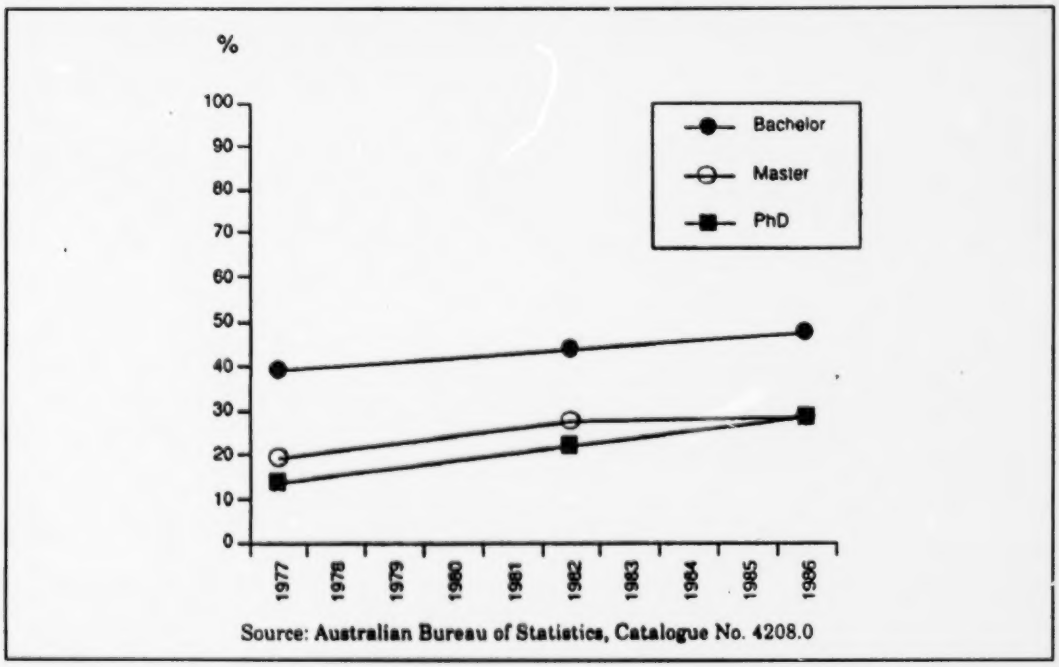
Concerted efforts are being made to raise the profile of women in the institution both in employment and education but such cultural change is long, slow work. Additionally amalgamation will almost certainly set the profile of women back, despite a commitment to equity.

There have been a few notable appointments of exceptional women to highly visible positions in the tertiary sector during the last five years; for example two female vicechancellors Diane Yerbury and Fay Gale have been appointed. The first of these has been subject to an extraordinary personal vendetta by *The Australian Higher Education Supplement*. There has also been a handful of extremely capable women appointed as chancellors. Northern Territory University reported that two of its four chairs were now held by women (education and nursing) had recently been appointed. However many institutions had little to report. Ballarat University College would be typical. In 1991 the most senior women were three principal lecturers in the traditional areas of education, nursing and librarianship and there were a few female senior lecturers standing in the wings.

Allen (1990) has explored some of the explanations commonly proffered to justify the existing pattern of academic women's employment in the university sector of higher education. Patterns are similar in the former college of advanced education sector (Maling, 1990), which has now been amalgamated with tertiary institutions. Allen found evidence that academic women experience sex discrimination, particularly systemic or indirect discrimination, in employment in universities, and that there has been virtually no change in the rank of women academics over the last decade.

A PhD qualification is often a prerequisite for management positions in universities. Figure 1 sets out details of university degrees awarded to women and indicates that the number of doctorates compares poorly with those awarded to men (28.5 per cent in 1985).

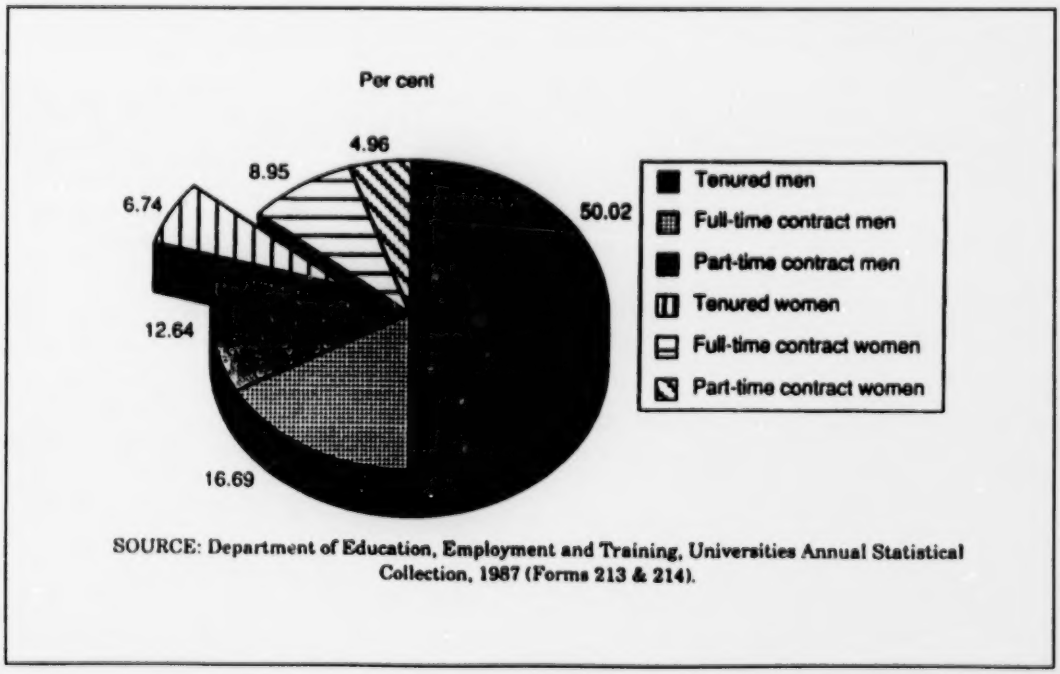
Figure 1: University Degress Awarded to Women



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 4208.0

Similarly, tenure has usually been the basis from which staff are promoted to management positions. Tenured senior academics participate in university decision making, use travel funds to attend overseas conferences, and head research teams. They have job security, leave provisions and superannuation, and are eligible for promotion. Of the 15 215 academics in 1987 in the 19 Australian universities surveyed by Allen, 50 per cent were full-time tenured men and only 7 per cent were full-time tenured women. Almost one in two women were untenured and full-time, in comparison with one in every five men (see Figure 2).

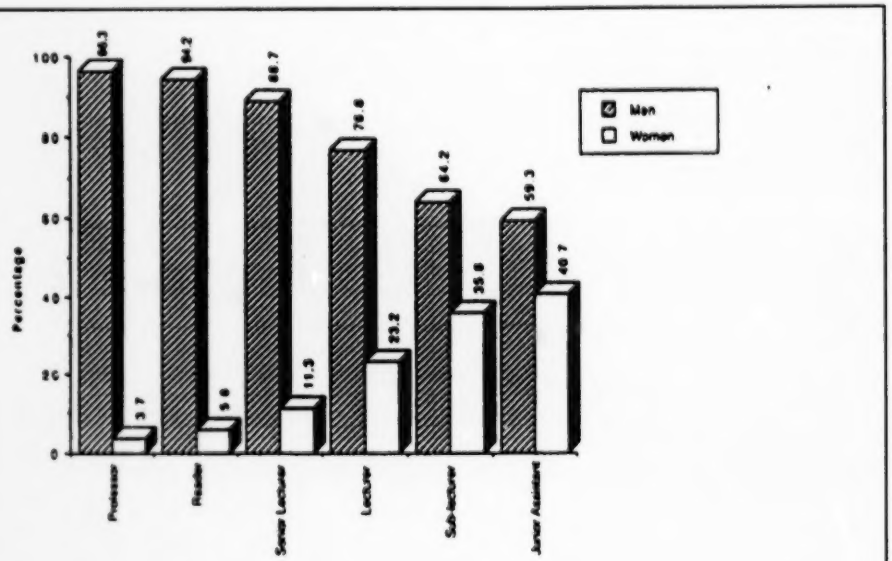
Figure 2: Male and female university academics by tenure—1987



SOURCE: Department of Education, Employment and Training, Universities Annual Statistical Collection, 1987 (Forms 213 & 214).

Figure 3 sets out starkly the disparity in levels between women and men. Less than 4 per cent of 1187 professors in 1987 were women. Thirty-four per cent of female academics were tutors and another 20 per cent were junior research assistants, that is, less than half were lecturers or above. Nearly a quarter of the men were either professors or readers and another 30 per cent were senior lecturers. Given that a tenured lecturer is at the beginning of the promotional process, the fact that less than 11 per cent of university lecturers were tenured women in 1987 has serious implications for improving the position of women in educational administration.

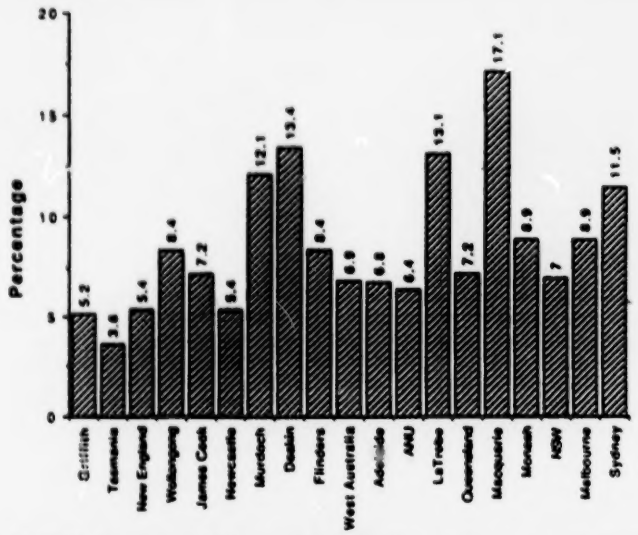
Figure 3: Australian academics by level and sex



SOURCE: Department of Education, Employment and Training, Universities Annual Statistical Collection, 1987 (Forms 213 & 214).

Figure 4 indicates that the distribution of senior women academics across Australia is decidedly uneven, ranging from less than 4 per cent at the University of Tasmania to over 17 per cent at the Macquarie University. These geographical and historical variations in the achievements of women in a relatively homogeneous society invalidate arguments of biological differences or different socialisation (Allen, 1990: 9) nor can they be explained by faculty mix (Gale, 1980). They powerfully reinforce the notion that some universities are more welcoming and supportive of women staff members than others.

Figure 4: Percentage of senior women academics by university



SOURCE: Department of Education, Employment and Training, Universities Ann Statistical Collection, 1987 (Forms 213 & 214).

The differing capacities of institutions to improve female participation in universities is confirmed by the study of Gale and Lindemann (1989), which compared the 1987 situation with that of 1977 (Table 2). Macquarie is the only institution with one-fifth of its female academic staff in career positions, attributed by Maling (1990) to the presence of an EEO officer who has taken a distinctive approach to gaining general institutional understanding and commitment. However even at Macquarie most of these women are in untenured positions. For example, in 1990 there was only one tenured academic woman at any level in the Law School (Thornton, 1990).

Table 2 : Women as a Percentage of Total Number of Lecturers and Above

University	1977 %	1987 %	Difference %
James Cook	6.3	15.1	+8.8
Macquarie	13.3	21.0	+7.7
ANU	8.4	15.9	+7.5
NSW	5.6	12.4	+6.8
Tasmania	5.0	10.9	+5.9
Monash	7.4	13.2	+5.8
Newcastle	6.7	12.5	+5.8
New England	7.5	12.6	+5.1
Sydney	10.5	15.5	+5.0
Murdoch	9.5	13.7	+4.2
La Trobe	13.4	17.3	+3.9
Adelaide	6.2	9.2	+3.0
Flinders	7.4	9.9	+2.5
Melbourne	12.7	14.7	+2.0
Griffith	15.8	15.8	0.0

SOURCE: Table 4, Gale and Lindemann, 1989.

Over the 1977-87 period the total number of women in tutor/senior tutor positions across the institutions surveyed increased by 9.7 per cent in comparison with a 6.7 per cent increase in lecturer/senior lecturer positions and 2.8 per cent at professor/associate professor levels. This led Gale and Lindemann (1989: 5) to conclude that traditional promotional criteria may still discriminate against women, with the traditional male procedures for appointment 'a little easier to dent' at the more junior levels. In a further analysis of Gale and Lindemann's data, Maling (1990) showed that there was little difference between the gains made by institutions in states which had EEO legislation in the 1970s and those without.

Nearly all respondents who provided data for this paper confirmed that there had been small increases in both academic and general administrative positions over recent years, but the increase, if any, in the proportion of women at higher levels was less than the overall shift. Analysis by salary or by rank confirmed this. At the University of Tasmania there were no women at professor or reader level and only 7 per cent of women were senior lecturers, however, 71 per cent of senior librarians were women. A recent review of the Institute of Academic Studies at the Australian National University reported an appalling record. As of January 1989 only 2.3 per cent of tenured and 15.8 per cent of non-tenured posts were filled by women (Stephens, 1990).

The data on general staff is limited because little attention has been paid to them *vis a vis* academic staff, however Maling (1990) has shown that in general terms the pattern of employment of female general staff parallels that of female academics, with most females in lower classifications, even in libraries. Wieneke (1988), in a study of colleges of advanced education in New South Wales, found that women were seriously underrepresented in senior positions. She noted that while librarianship is primarily a female occupational category, one-third of the most senior library positions were filled by men. She reported that the few women who were in senior management were clustered in EEO offices or general administrative areas, whereas there were no women in senior positions in financial management.

The national pattern of average earnings for men and women is confirmed by graduates of universities; in 1990 men earned an average of $25 100 per year with women earning only $23 000 (*The Sunday Telegraph*). Given that Australian women are supposed to have gained equal pay years ago, this is a further indication of the slow process of change and the need for sustained attention to equity for women over a long period of time.

Adult Education

The participation of women in the management of continuing education for adults, the sector to which I have recently been appointed as the first woman director of the largest provider in Australia, is not examined. There is little data available to draw conclusions about the place of women in managing this sector in which about 70 per cent of students are female and there is a large proportion of female staff. Anecdotal evidence supports experience in other sectors where most senior administrators are male.

Barriers

It is clear that significant barriers to women's participation in education management have operated to result in the statistics described above, and these are similar for all levels of education. The major barrier is sexism; the issues of status, power, control and asymmetrical relationships between the sexes. It is possible to identify a range of sexist attitudes and behaviours which act against women achieving their potential as women managers.

Societal Attitudes

Deeply entrenched societal attitudes about the roles of men and women as leaders and followers discourage competent women from assuming leadership roles. 'Stereotyped assumptions about what makes a good strong manager are incompatible with what makes a good (soft warm) woman' (Stefanou Haag, 1987: 11). It is only recently that the more democratic, cooperative and flexible styles of management preferred by most women are

coming to be valued. Both male and female attitudes to women's employment do not encourage women to consider a job in education as a career.

Religious Attitudes

In non-government institutions, the religious have until recently occupied the key management positions, excluding both lay men and women, but there is often a particular bias against non-religious women assuming leadership roles. Wright (1987: 15) points out that 'the Catholic Church in its structure and practices supports a very traditional view of the place of women in society' and argues that 'the Catholicity of the system contributes to the lack of women principals'. In one study, lay coordinators gave religious bias against divorcees and non-Catholics as reasons for not seeking further promotion (Ryan, 1989: 25). These barriers are reinforced and strengthened by the hierarchial nature of the authority structure of many churches which rarely permits women a share in any decision-making bodies, affecting non-religious women's status in both Catholic systems and independent schools..

Culture of Educational Systems and Institutions

The persistent exclusion of large numbers of women from management positions in education is related to the culture and management structures of systems and institutions. Tancred-Sheriff (1988) believes that universities are alien to women in the sense that they have been and continue to be 'male spaces'. In similar ways, schools in Australia have in the past been places mostly welcoming to boys, where boys use the open playground area, occupy teachers' time and see themselves reflected in the curriculum and in textbooks. 'Masculinity is embedded in the procedures, assumptions, processes and formal rules of contemporary organisations, mainly because it has always been considered to be men's destiny to integrate themselves into this organisational reality' (Ibid.: 14). There have been significant efforts to make educational institutions, especially schools, more welcoming to girls, but in the absence of deliberate and massive efforts to the contrary, universities in particular are in danger of always being sexist institutions. The use of sexist language and the relatively high levels of harassment, particularly sexual harassment in education workplaces, have been alienating to women seeking advancement. Exit interviews with female staff who resign can uncover useful information about negative aspects of institutional culture.

Reluctance to Apply for Appointment or Promotion

Women's job horizons are limited by early social conditioning at home, at school, in the media, and through educational opportunities and training available. There is some evidence in the literature that women tend to underestimate their worth and their suitability for senior administrative positions (Chapman, 1986) and they attribute their success to circumstances or to others' contributions. They are not as ambitious in regard to a career and make fewer applications than men, sometimes only half as many unsuccessful applications on average (Harper 1984). In some cases this is due to preference for teaching and student contact; in others it is fear of failure. Women's pessimism about possible success is well founded. Over and Lancaster (1984) showed that men in the 1960s cohort were 2.5 times more likely than women to be promoted within six years of appointment, and 1.6 times more likely in the 1970s cohort. Sampson (1987) found that willingness to apply for promotion was related to opportunities for administrative and organisational experience during the early years of teaching, and that men were more likely to be given administrative and organisational tasks during this period.

Incompatibility of Academic Employment with Domestic Responsibilities

Women still have the primary role for family responsibilities, which frequently causes geographic immobility. They often value their family commitments ahead of their careers, but these responsibilities are not valued reciprocally by systems and institutions that see time out for child rearing as divorced from the workforce rather than contributing to experience. Selection committees in the past have tended to regard childbearing and rearing as personal aberrations,

rather than essential functions providing important nurturing skills that are transferable to the classroom.

Allen (1990:18) cites some evidence that militates against the common explanation that women do not reach management positions because of the demands of their domestic roles, including the Sawer (1984) and Harper (1987) findings that there are not large numbers of women academics taking maternity leave. However broken career paths and family leave are frequently described as barriers to women's progress. Women's interrupted work pattern is often seen as abnormal or deficient. There is a lack of adequate assistance in Australia for the sick, older people and people with disabilities, and inadequate affordable or convenient child care provision and government funding subsidy is problematic (Reilly, 1984; Sawyer, 1982). Few institutions take account of family responsibilities by providing adequate maternity leave provisions or flexible working hours. Queensland University of Technology established twelve weeks paid maternity leave for the first time in 1990.

As well as the demands on energy and time involved in domestic chores and caring for children and other family dependants, women usually move with their husbands' promotional opportunities rather than vice versa. This involuntary mobility or inability to move to take up an appointment can be detrimental to women's progress. Again, the research evidence is contradictory with Over and Lancaster (1984) reporting similar movement between universities of both women and men and FAUSA (1977) reporting that 52.3 per cent women but only 24.8 per cent men had experienced disadvantage in their careers because of mobility factors.

Lack of Mentoring or Patronage

Women often feel discouraged from applying for promotion because they believe that men will be preferred, and they see so many senior men actively encouraging other men to apply. Their unequal access to informal organisational socialisation is a serious disadvantage. Without mentors or sponsors they do not have access into the 'power-group' norms, or feedback on their performance.

Poor Selection and Promotion Procedures

At all levels of education there are documented complaints about discriminatory procedures in the selection and promotion processes. For example it is still common in universities for advertisements to detail discriminatory criteria. Applicants express interest by submitting a curriculum vitae without a written application addressing the duties of the position. Candidates are often shortlisted without agreed selection criteria, and sometimes there is gender bias in the job evaluation. There is seldom a requirement to search for women applicants, nor to interview the best woman candidate if no women are shortlisted. Panels are not always required to say why candidates were not shortlisted, nor why shortlisted candidates were not recommended, nor to justify the selection of the recommended candidate. Other anomalies reported in the literature include filling positions without advertisement or interview (Harper,1987), failing to keep records on whether jobs were advertised at all, internally or externally (Poiner and Burke, 1988: 123), inadequate job descriptions allowing shifts in emphasis on various criteria in the course of the recruitment process (*Ibid.*) and all-male selection committees (Allen, 1990: 14).

Homosociability in Selection

Homogeneity is a central value of organisational culture in Australia which 'manifests itself most dramatically through the phenomenon of homosocial reproduction or cloning' (Thornton, 1989: 122). Most hierarchies of power have complex inbuilt systems for reproduction (Sampson, 1987: 143). Senior men appear to be more comfortable with each other rather than having women in academia as superiors or peers, so give patronage to youthful images of themselves. This operates as they make informal recommendations on postgraduate, recruitment and promotional opportunities, provide referee reports, give access to special leave and to research and travel funds, assist in the publication of articles, and even allocate courses and teaching loads. The 'old boys network' in independent schools and their school councils influence the selection and appointment of principals and staff (Fleming, 1987). The use of

'intuition' in the selection process is considerable and selectors are less likely to choose women without the experience of seeing them in top management positions (Chapman, 1986 : 17).

Gender-based Differences in Academic Merit

There is a view that merit is somehow a neutral form to which the contextual circumstances of a worker's life are irrelevant. While there has not yet been any major definition of academic merit in Australia, it seems to be measured variously by mobility; seniority; formal, academic qualifications; number, frequency and place of publications; administrative experience; and teaching ability. In the absence of a definition it is all too easy for merit to be based on 'the values, style and priorities of the dominant group in the organisation' (Wilenski, 1985: 54). Allen (1990) examines each of these categories to determine whether there are sex-based differences to explain women's poor participation and ranking in academic employment.

Qualifications. There is a relative scarcity of doctorates among women, and some disciplines tend to rely heavily on overseas degrees, disadvantaging women who are less mobile. Nevertheless, an analysis of staff at The University of Melbourne has shown that in 1984 there were no sex differences in qualifications among senior academics, and male professors were appointed without doctorates in the 1980s (*Ibid.*, 21). Women who engage in feminist research or women's studies are often disadvantaged when their work is undervalued as having a political agenda and being of marginal interest, and labelled personal and subjective rather than detached and objective. Many women are advised that continued involvement in marginalised women's issues is not good for their careers.

Publications. Gale (1980: 5) links overseas qualifications to the possibility of building networks and publishing in prestigious overseas journals, further disadvantaging women who study in Australia. There do not appear to be agreed Australian data on what number of publications is reasonable for any candidate in view of age or field of study. Nevertheless, some studies confirm the emphasis on publications as a determinant of selection and promotion (Baldwin, 1985; Wilson and Byrne, 1987) and that men report higher rates of publications than women (Over, 1982 and Davies, 1982). Other studies in Australia have indicated that women are not promoted in the same proportions as men with comparable publications rates (Davies, 1982), that senior men publish more than juniors (Wilson and Byrne, 1987; Cass, *et al.*, 1983) and that there is no system to assess quality (Blunt, 1976; Sawer, 1984). The FAUSA (1977) study did not identify gender as a differential for rate of publication.

Teaching Ability. Again the assessment of quality in teaching is problematic and, although most institutions in the past recognised the importance of teaching, the lack of a system to assess it meant that publications took preference (Baldwin, 1985). Academics are not required to hold teaching qualifications. More recently attempts are being made to evaluate teaching effectiveness.

Participation in Administration. Most decision-making committees in universities are male-dominated and a small number of men sit on almost all of them (Wilson and Byrne, 1987; Women's Working Group, 1981). Allen (1990) argued that the fact that committees are male-dominated does not mean that the typical male academic has more opportunities to join important committees or to devote more time to administration.

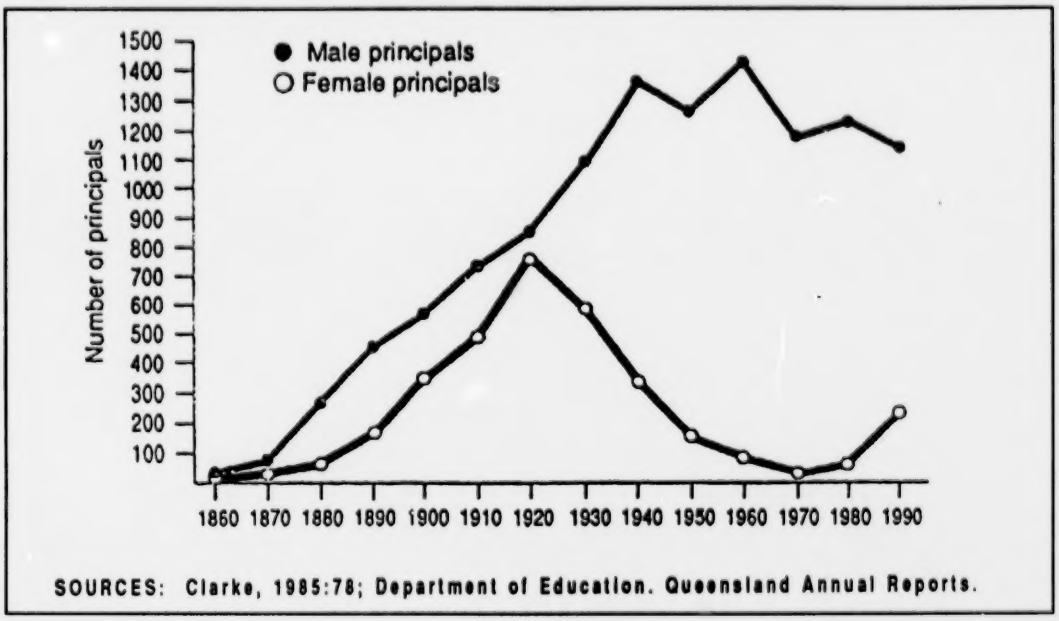
Allen (1990: 25) concluded that 'explanations for the poor representation of women in academic employment, particularly in senior positions, which include reference to sex-based differences in academic merit are not strongly supported'. She drew attention to the marked geographic variation in the proportion of female senior academics in homogeneous Australia; as already mentioned, ranging from 3.6 per cent in Tasmania to 17.1 per cent in Macquarie in 1987, and argued that there is another powerful factor at work in the climate of opinion in tertiary institutions.

Limited Turnover in Academic Employment

There is a widespread belief that there can be little improvement in women's position in educational administration because there are so few openings. Figure 5 indicates the

professional turnover in five universities as assessed by a study of university handbooks in 1980 and 1987 (Allen, 1990: 16). Even assuming a low annual turnover rate of 5 per cent of staff, over half of all lecturing positions would be vacated every ten years. Despite these openings, women are not making great advances in the promotion stakes.

Figure 5: Professional turnover in five universities



SOURCES: Clarke, 1985:78; Department of Education. Queensland Annual Reports.

Compartmentalising EEO

While the formation of EEO units and the appointment of EEO officers have been essential to progress, there is a danger that equity and social justice issues can become isolated from the mainstream policy formulation processes. It can become relatively easy for people uncommitted to EEO principles to ignore the need for fundamental change because someone else in the organisation is tackling specific problems of discrimination, disadvantage and inequality.

A further danger facing systems and institutions is that the time taken to collect statistics and prepare well-meaning reports deflects attention from the real injustices occurring to women. The documents themselves, while saving the conscience of some institutions, are worthless if they do not result in agenda setting and action. O'Connor (1989: 39) complained that the university in her case study of an AA program, took three years to produce and print the management plan and two years later the first annual report was still at the draft stage so that the university were relying on 1984 data. She further criticised the plan for statistics and analysis that were 'mumbo jumbo', for using euphemisms for target dates such as 'as soon as possible', 'as soon as practicable', 'ongoing', 'continuing', 'continue over time', and 'as resources become available'. The EEO officer was assigned numerous time-consuming tasks under the plan for which there where few resources. By being coopted onto the side of management she was placed on opposite sides to union representatives who could have been of assistance. Good legislative intent was displaced by underfunding the EEO Unit and flooding it with grandiose strategies.

A range of other barriers to women reaching management positions includes: the present position of women in teacher unions, resulting in little interest by union officials in the status of women; lack of data, ongoing research and collection of statistics by gender, which means that

little is known about the extent of the problem, and progress cannot be monitored; the status of part-time teachers, who should also be considered suitable for promotion; and the unavailability and inappropriately-timed organisation of inservice courses on educational administration and retraining courses.

Strategies

Given the extensive barriers confronting women aspiring to educational management it is not surprising that few women have achieved senior positions. Further, a search of the literature showed that there were few strategies designed to assist women already in management positions. The major strategies at work in Australia are designed to educate about EEO/AA and to clean up the system, working from the bottom which is where most women are, to facilitate their working life and remove discriminatory practices.

The range of strategies suggested in affirmative action plans is large and diverse, however many systems and institutions are pessimistic about making progress. At tertiary level, in particular, real affirmative action is almost non-existent in most universities. Despite the evidence cited earlier of significant openings for women, the Hawthorn Institute of Education anticipated that substantial redress of gender balance would not occur until the institution could 'move to a growth phase or until natural attrition becomes significant'. Proposals put up by EEO committees, such as job rotation for women staff at the Northern Territory University, are often not implemented. However, a small number of institutions and some areas within institutions where there is significant commitment from senior managers are making progress, as evidenced by improved outcomes for women.

A summary of strategies being used or being advocated in Australia to overcome barriers to equity is listed below.

Requiring Commitment from Senior Administrators

While during the 1980s the benefits of EEO have become accepted rhetoric for most senior managers, lack of progress indicates that the next steps must be to hold managers accountable for their performance in implementing AA. The effective implementation of AA depends on public support from the senior executive, and on the decisions and actions of individual managers: AA has to be made part of every manager's day-to-day style as good management practice. This will happen more rapidly if managers see AA as an important part of their job responsibilities, for which they will be held accountable. AA must be mainstreamed: incorporated into the business plan and goals of each agency, the specific goals and performance indicators for which managers are accountable, and duty statements for management positions. Demonstrated commitment to social justice and AA should be included in the selection criteria for all supervisory positions, and used as a performance indicator in staff assessment procedures in all systems and institutions. Senior staff can be required through performance statements to demonstrate measures they have taken to promote women's opportunities for staff development and participation in managing. Where vicechancellors are directors of EEO and sympathetic to EEO/AA principles, they have a strong influence on other senior administrators. Productivity gains resulting from AA programs can be used to convince managers of their fiscal value in a climate of increasing budgetary restraint. EEO/AA policy must achieve this status of 'morally legitimate' policy rather than be just a vehicle for providing compensatory benefit to interest groups (Blackmore, 1988).

Mainstreaming EEO/AA does not mean reducing the resources allocated to EEO/AA staff or units. Resources should be directed towards providing regular input into the overall corporate planning process, providing ongoing assistance to those with specific responsibilities to maintain effective policies, procedures, programs and related services, and continuing to monitor progress, especially with regard to systemic discrimination and maintaining a work environment free from harassment.

Implementing Legislation

EEO and AA legislation has provided a framework which managers can use and within which change can take place. It provides for employers to issue policy statements committing themselves to developing an EEO policy and an AA program; to employ EEO coordinators at system and institution levels with sufficient management status and authority to develop and oversee the program's effective implementation; to consult with unions and staff; to collect data; to examine employment policies and practice; to set objectives and make forward estimates; and to monitor and evaluate the achievement of objectives and forward estimates. School systems and institutions, including those not covered by legislation (religious organisations), must pay attention to implementing this framework, particularly the setting of forward estimates which is currently occurring in only a few places.

Setting Forward Estimates

The setting of forward estimates appears to be one of the more powerful strategies available to institutions, but it is the one least implemented (Affirmative Action Agency, 1989: 26). The University of Melbourne is one of 27 institutions that have taken this strategy seriously, consulting with the dean of each faculty and heads of administrative departments about both academic and general staff. In view of the variation in such factors as age profile, staff turnover and potential staff, measured by the proportion of women in postgraduate study in universities and the availability of female candidates in different areas and disciplines, the dates to which the forward estimates are applied vary across faculties and administrative departments. For example, over all faculties at the University there were only three of 121 professors in 1990 and the forward estimate is for ten female professors by 1993; there were no female readers, senior lecturers or lecturers among the 24 academic staff in the faculty of agriculture and forestry so the target is three staff by 1992; in the department of finance and accounting only one woman of 13 staff was senior administrative officer and above, and the target is to double this by 1991. Proportional realistic staged targets towards equitable representation of women on all statutory bodies and advisory committees and in all staff development programs should also be set.

Adopting the 'Chunk' Approach

The South Australian Institute of Technology's EEO Committee decided to adopt the 'chunk' approach; that is to identify one problem area at a time and thoroughly review it, making a discussion paper available to all staff and giving them time to offer relevant recommendations. The first 'chunks' tackled were the areas of recruitment and selection and resulted in Council approving a comprehensive set of 44 guidelines. This gradual approach necessarily involves staff throughout the institution in developing changes to current practices and ensures the smooth implementation of AA recommendations. At the University of Canberra a concentration on the recruitment and selection processes achieved quite rapid change to the academic staff profile, with the proportion of women at associate professor level and above increasing from 7 per cent in 1985 to 40 per cent in 1990.

Eliminating Sexist Language, Sexist Curriculum and Sexual Harassment

While the use of gender-neutral language is a minimalist measure, it nevertheless signals an ethos of inclusion and intention that is supportive of more substantial forms of intervention. Where men keep the power of naming and mentally constructing the world for and about themselves, women are held to that male standard, are left out of descriptions of the world, and have difficulty articulating their own experience. Several institutions have developed and published gender-neutral language guidelines. Both school and university curricula have been constructed around the public and productive interests of males, so that the experience of women in child care, homemaking, caring for the sick and older people is often invisible in traditional liberal education. Women and their experiences need to be written into the curriculum. Sexual harassment and general grievance policies and procedures, including the training and appointment of contact officers and advisors, should be established.

Institutional Responses to Combining Careers with Domestic Responsibilities

Maternity leave, adequate, easily-accessible child care facilities, and flexible working hours could assist women to combine their domestic responsibilities with a career. A range of strategies has been piloted in Australia. Flinders University instituted maternity leave in 1973, when the firing of pregnant academics was first resisted by FAUSA (1973). Leave provisions recognising parental and/or family responsibilities have been established at four institutions. The provision of creche facilities at institutions was first recommended by the 1982 Senate Standing Committee. On-campus child care, such as the Myilly Point Campus Child Care Centre at Northern Territory University enables women to breastfeed their children during non-lecturing hours. Innovative play and education programs during school holidays such as those instituted at Monash University can allow parents to continue with their work over school holiday periods. Some institutions encourage women working at home to keep up-to-date with developments in their area of expertise by maintaining contact with their professional associations. In considering merit, credit should be given for the skills, knowledge and experience gained while child rearing.

Four Australian institutions have offered postdoctoral reentry fellowships which may be held part-time or full-time for women who have had interrupted career paths for family reasons. The Reentry Fellowships Committee at the Australian National University has recently suggested that there may be scope for a 'returners' scheme aimed at the postgraduate rather than the postdoctoral level. Such schemes acknowledge the social value of the unpaid domestic care of young children. At school level Tasmania has proposed introducing a Returner Scheme to provide regular inservice training to enable the returners to keep up to date with developments within their field of employment. For teachers a fixed minimum amount of supply teaching would be undertaken each year and the person would be offered reemployment within a period of seven years (Malcolm, 1989).

Increasing Visibility, Mentoring and Networking

Giving women opportunities to broaden experience, including management experience, through job rotation can boost self confidence. Women who have gained experience in trade unions and local politics outside work have valued the skills they have gained there. Establishing mentoring schemes in key administrative and academic areas can encourage women to participate in research and in the promotions procedure. Systems and institutions have a responsibility to ensure that successful women administrators are made visible and accessible as role models. Women should be supported in actively encouraging and helping other women in career development. Both senior men and senior women should be encouraged to act as mentors for women staff as well as men. Networks among women generally and women in promotions positions should be encouraged. Women must find ways of coming together in both formal and informal groupings to support each other, exchange ideas, discuss and plan for joint action, and gain strength from other women of courage, optimism and vision. Together they can exert pressure for change within their organisations.

Publicising the Advantages of Women's Management Styles

Stefanou-Haag (1987) has eloquently described the highly sophisticated management skills many women can bring to management. Their commitment to people, relationships and students, their willingness to consult and cooperate rather than compete and dominate, leads to seeking consensus rather than enforcing control - to more decentralised participative decision making. Their socialisation encourages a preference for attachment and connectedness as well as individuation and self-enhancement. Women tend to be more aware of their vulnerability and lack of confidence, so are generally able to acknowledge people's feelings without questioning their competence, and to encourage empowerment through helping people to deal with their feelings. Women's roles in the family and the community can enrich the management role when they bring to it their listening and observation skills. These qualities are crucial to efficient and effective management in more human and student-centred ways. Women tend to

cope with ambiguity; to see congruity between ends and means; to bring together the private and public; to focus on process rather than power; to use power as a connection to rather than power over; to see networks as open rather than closed, creating a net to support and protect; to seek present wellbeing through expressing feelings, pleasure, laughter, enjoyment, touching, celebration. By bringing into out-of-date hierarchical structures some highly visible female values they can enliven the work place with the 'erotic sparkle' that comes from pleasure in what one does.

Providing Appropriate Education and Training

Specific leadership, management and job interview skills training and retraining is needed for women and should be provided at system and institution levels, both on-the-job and in accessible courses. Women do not form a homogeneous group and appropriate responses are required to meet the diverse education and training needs of women in different target groups, for example Aboriginal women and women who are sole supporting parents. Women should be encouraged to attend staff development courses which are planned specifically to meet their needs. Career development workshops and counselling for women that aim to make them aware of the range of career options open to them and to identify their own skills are especially valuable. Systems and institutions should distribute administrative posts and allowances more equitably, rotate acting administrative positions and encourage women to undertake positions of responsibility, ensuring that these positions have a title and that experience in them is recognised. Experience for several weeks a year working with senior administrators as interns or in acting positions would counteract the usual response that women lack experience and may assist women to be less harsh in judging their own worth, and give them a more realistic picture of the demands of the role. For example, the Review Committee for the Institute of Academic Studies at the Australian National University suggested that funds should be provided on a trial basis for senior women academics to visit for short periods of three to six months. Women's equal participation in meetings and administrative activities should be required. Equally as important is the provision of training in interviewing skills and EEO principles in selection and promotion, for those involved in interviewing for positions. A direct mailing list for course advertising should be established. Training is also needed for senior and middle level managers to provide information, experience and skills in EEO practice, to help them develop an awareness of how their daily practices can discriminate against women, and to conduct educational programs to change attitudes. In fact an understanding of EEO/AA should be integrated into all teacher education courses. Women's studies and research into gender in education should be promoted. Women should be encouraged to join professional associations to extend their professional expertise and support networks.

Overcoming Recruitment, Selection and Promotion Problems

Given the homosociability phenomena, everything possible should be done to reduce reliance on 'intuition', 'gut reaction' and 'leadership images' in personnel practices. The selection process should be carefully planned, tightly structured and based on clearly articulated criteria (Chapman 1986, 17). Strategies adopted to improve the recruitment, selection and promotion processes have included EEO officer participation on panels, interviews with heads of schools, and discussion with personnel officers and individual staff members. Grievance procedures should be instituted to give opportunities for reconsideration of decisions. The University of Melbourne and the Queensland University of Technology are among those who have included a search for women applicants as part of the selection process. Women's networks are becoming more active in vigorously searching for appropriate women and inviting them to apply. Nevertheless once women do apply, further strategies are needed. The EEO officer at Northern Territory University complained that only one woman had applied for the position of deputy vicechancellor in 1990 but she was not interviewed. Mechanisms adopted in some state public services where selection panels are required to interview the best woman candidate if none are shortlisted could be introduced into the tertiary sector. Wilenski (1985) has argued for placing less emphasis on filling one job at a time independently of another, as selection of teams of people can allow for a range of skills and talents needed in the organisation. Post-

selection counselling is a useful strategy for encouraging unsuccessful applicants to continue applying and to improve the quality of their applications and their interview skills.

Ensuring Gender Balance on Committees

Most institutions have set a target of at least one-third women in the membership of working parties, task forces and similar bodies. Women are particularly needed on committees dealing with finance, appointments, promotions, and academic matters. When nominations are sought for positions on advisory bodies, relevant organisations should be required to put forward a panel of names, consistent with equity principles. Registers of women for appointments and staff development opportunities should be compiled, computerised and maintained in all systems and institutions, which should also monitor target group access to staff development. EEO committees have responsibility for offering assistance in finding appropriate staff, and are required to monitor the implementation of policy and include a progress report in the institution's annual report to the AA agency.

Using Collective Action

The commitment of teacher unions, professional associations and parent/community associations to increasing the numbers of women in promotions positions should be encouraged. Most of these organisations now have an EEO policy relating both to institutions and to their structure. Conferences on women's issues can focus on strengthening strategies to improve the position of all women. Organisational publications can also assist by printing articles on relevant matters. Women must continue to use their unions and organisations such as the Women's Electoral Lobby to fight for child care, maternity leave and equal pay. Scutt (1990) calls on women's groups to continue to intervene regularly before the bench in national wage hearings and to be vigilant through the award restructuring process to ensure it is effective in gaining wage justice for women.

The Affirmative Action Agency's 1989 evaluation of AA programs in the higher education sector indicated that there are three main factors which support change. These are management commitment, pressure from women, and legislation. It makes sense to concentrate on these three strategies as priorities for attention, especially in areas where there is the best chance of achieving success.

The University of New South Wales' Annual Consultation with Women is an excellent example of an effective strategy which clearly demonstrates action in two of these priorities. The vicechancellor approves leave for all women to attend. The consultation follows a series of lunchtime meetings of women to identify concerns and formulate questions. The vicechancellor attends the consultation specifically to answer these questions and AA action priorities for the year are set and accepted by the administration.

Reflections from Experience

Another legitimate source of knowledge about the situation of women in educational management is their own account of what it feels like to be there. I would like to conclude this paper with some further reflections on my own experience as a senior manager in education.

In one of my appointments the institution had the benefit of a draft EEO/AA plan prepared by a consultant, and had advertised for an equal opportunity officer (EOO) before I arrived. However interviews could not be held because the file of applicants (described as 'not very good anyway') had been lost. It was some weeks before the chief executive officer (CEO) could be persuaded to abandon hopes that the file would be found and to readvertise the position. Again the list of applicants was perceived to be 'not good enough', however the attempt to delay action for a further readvertisement was defeated and we made an excellent appointment. Although the plan gave direct responsibility for implementation to the CEO, he delegated this to a senior man from a rural religious background who, although well meaning, had little understanding of equal opportunity issues. The institution's EEO policy and plan was constantly blocked by conservative Council members over four Council meetings before a

watered-down version was finally approved. Any small steps forward at this institution have been won at considerable personal cost to the supporters. Nevertheless the presence of a senior woman, a competent EOO, constant efforts to obtain a gender balance on committees, and a vigorous women's network greatly strengthened the morale and purpose of women in that institution. Women began to apply for positions on Council, academic board and promotion, many for the first time.

In common with other senior Australian female educators I can recount my personal experiences of repeatedly encountering the 'glass ceiling' in seeking promotion commensurate with my qualifications and experience. At a recent interview for a university position I was grilled for 90 per cent of the time about my research background for a position whose major selection criteria was advertised as extensive management experience, an area in which I am well qualified. I was asked a not-too-subtle question to determine my marital and family status — in July 1990!

On another occasion in the APS as recent as 1988, I was interviewed by an all male panel; selection criteria were changed half way through the process in a particularly narrow way, deliberately to favour one applicant and discriminate against another; the confidentiality of the selection process was broken at a lunchtime discussion; additional references were sought from people who did not have a close knowledge of my work, and their oral comments were not confirmed in writing. The selection committee's report was couched in discriminatory language which presented one case as though the evidence was direct and unambiguous and the other as if the evidence was indirect and ambiguous. Despite the rhetoric about equal employment opportunity policy in PSC, and the responsible department's documents, in this case the process reflected anything but EEO principles.

I decided to take this case to the MPRA but there has been an amazing series of delays over the last two years as various people have failed to respond to requests for information and then for confirmation of statements. These delays may well result in the findings of MPRA not being reported until 1991.

Few women are prepared to go through the trauma of challenging selection decisions which fail to recognise the merits of superior qualifications and superior experience. I was strongly advised by both male and female colleagues not to appeal as they considered I would be victimised.

The 'glass ceiling' (Morrison et al., 1987) will continue to operate to prevent women moving into senior positions unless affirmative action is taken to implement equal opportunity guidelines, define 'merit' and educate selection panels on this definition. The lack of appeal processes or any kind of audit for selection to senior positions in the APS and many institutions in my view constitutes a failure to apply natural justice.

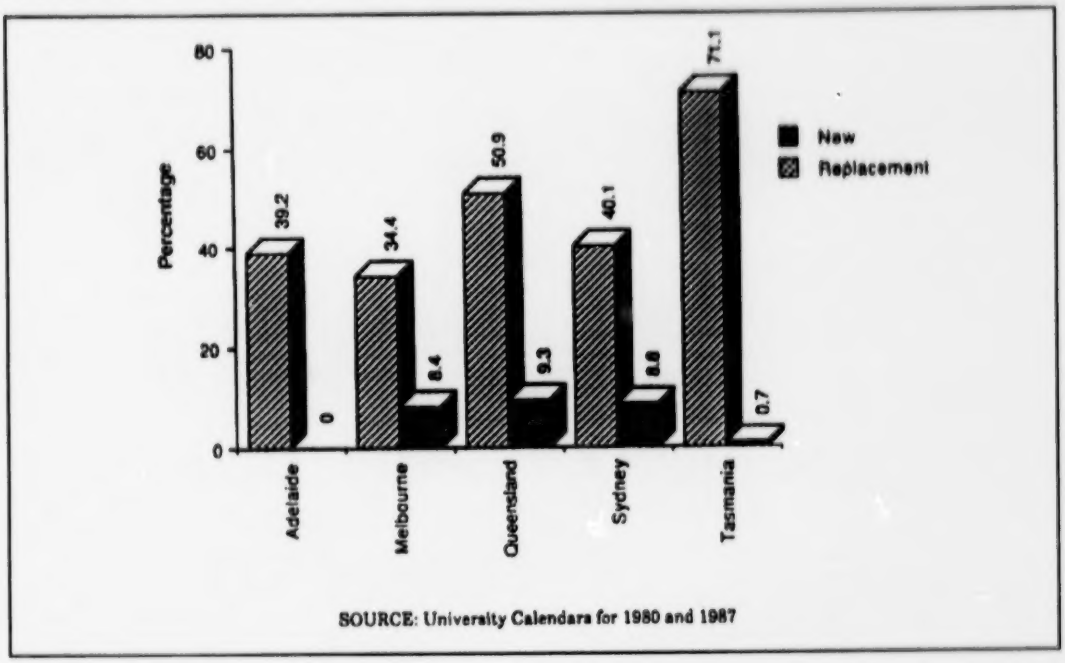
A further problem I have discovered, in common with other successful female colleagues who have broken through the glass ceiling, is that when we arrive we are not always welcome. We have to cope with overt and covert hostility from many men and some women who, mostly unconsciously, are greatly threatened by our presence and competence in what has been hitherto a male world. Women need to support each other in claiming some space in this world where we are seen as alien intruders, so that we can continue to shape the work environment to become more human.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that employment outcomes for women in Australian education are still far from satisfactory. It should be remembered that women make up a majority of staff in early childhood, primary, secondary and adult education and a slowly increasing percentage in TAFE and tertiary education. The costs to education and the Australian economy of failing to make the best possible use of the skills and potential of so many of its staff are enormous. Unless we lift our game in education we will lose talented people to other employers in Australia or overseas who are more willing to use and reward those talents.

Scott (1990: 4) drew attention to the effect of massive economic downturns in reversing the process of getting women into educational management (Figure 6). Given the forecast that Australia is now in an economic recession, there is reason to be particularly vigilant to ensure that women do not bear the brunt of career dislocation. Jones and Castle (1983) also believe recession can have an adverse effect on maintaining gains achieved for women.

Figure 6: Principals, all Schools, Department of Education, Queensland, 1860-1990



SOURCE: University Calendars for 1980 and 1987

Proactive AA programs are needed on both economic and efficiency grounds, as an essential part of the efficient use of human resources to select the best people (from an increasingly diverse labour market); develop people to their full potential; improve staff motivation (the perception of discrimination undermines incentives for achievement); and maintain a competitive position as an attractive employer.

The current focus of government policy in Australia is based on the need to improve our competitive position through industry restructuring and through training and education initiatives aimed at improving labour productivity by enhancing the skills base of the labour force. The reduction of labour market gender segregation to enhance overall flexibility, efficiency and equity is a prime objective. Skill-related career paths are being established with a view to creating more varied, fulfilling and better paid jobs with financial rewards based on skill competencies. Care should be taken in introducing new systems such as award restructuring and performance appraisal to ensure that existing inequity is not exacerbated, that the past discriminatory norms of many organisations are not automatically reflected, and that AA provisions are built in. Maling (1990) has pointed out that the new Training Guarantee Act has no requirement that institutions report on staff training activities or progress in terms of gender or to ensure that such activities are generally available to women as to men.

Most of the easy problems of overt discrimination against women in Australia have been solved. We have been left with the more subtle ones which are deeply rooted in the accepted system. Changing attitudes is not the right starting point for making these changes (Wilenski, 1985). Rather, it is more effective to start with changing rules, procedures and structures. Changes in behaviour and attitudes will follow.

An indication of the enormity of the task is given by the backlash experienced against AA, which ignores the many occasions in Australia's history when AA has operated to advantage men over women. Many men now owe their promotions positions to those advantages. Partington (1982) details South Australian experience where promotion for single women was not generally available until 1968, and 1972 for married women. Dwyer (1987) has recorded how till 1973 in New South Wales, men were granted scholarships with a lower aggregate mark than women to increase the number of men in primary schools, and until 1978 married men were encouraged by being granted a higher rate of allowance and were eligible for dependants' allowances. While men could gain credit for any form of paid employment on the basis of one year for three, no credit was given for childrearing undertaken by a woman during a break in service, and a break of more than three years could result in a loss of accredited years of service and salary increments. Yet there was a widespread outcry in 1987 in New South Wales when it was proposed that limited preferential promotion be given to women for the next five years to redress the imbalance of discrimination practice over many years. A 1987 EEO Report in the ACT stated that 'fears of injustice to men appear completely unfounded, yet continue to be expressed with great conviction' (ACT, 1987).

Some positive discrimination strategies tried overseas that may be necessary to consider in Australia if progress remains minimal, include inviting only women to apply for some positions; providing financial incentives to institutions who choose female leaders, to be used to improve the working conditions of women in the institutions; requiring each institution to develop pilot projects on affirmative action and regularly report on their plans and achievements; legislation for equal participation of women and men in administrative posts and committee structures; giving preference to women where qualifications are equal; and encouraging dual or team leadership.

Murphy (1985: 28)) argues that 'the existence of very few women in senior educational administration, the absence of reflections on their realities, the gatekeeping activities of a male-dominated society and the physical embodiment of power in men are all interwoven factors inhibiting the presence of women in educational administration'. She supports Spender's (1983) arguments that women need the space to set up their own system, outline their own priorities and values, and validate their own experiences: 'When women have the opportunity to devise an educational theory and practice which enhances the image of women and encourages the development of self-esteem and self-confidence, in the way in which the present education system facilitates the development of males, then we will be able to discuss equality of educational opportunity meaningfully'.

Success for women in achieving senior administration positions in education is not an end in itself. The presence of women in powerful positions is not the primary objective of the women's movement. Increasing the numbers of women in decision-making roles in education is a means to the end of achieving real social justice for all women and improving the general conditions of women in employment and the quality of life for both women and men (Blackmore, 1988). In particular an increase in the mass of women in these positions should transform what Blackburn (1986: 19) called the 'underground life' in institutions and educational bureaucracies which perpetuates the myth of differing capabilities and allocates status and responsibilities by gender, excluding women from where the power really lies. Scutt (1990) argued that if management were to comprise 50 per cent men and 50 per cent women this would change the culture of the workforce for all women at all levels of the organisation, enabling more flexibility in job selection and training opportunities and different patterns and expectations to operate in appointments and promotions. We need to combat the notion that issues of social justice are irreconcilable with other priorities such as efficiency.

This paper has provided a brief overview of the social and legal contexts which impact on the employment of women in education in Australia, and explained some of the data available on women in management positions. Barriers to progress have been identified and some of the strategies being used have been described. However women are not advancing equally with men into management positions and they are not always welcome when they do arrive. Conferences such as this, which are planned to share international perspectives on the character

of the problems and to explore both the causes and the effectiveness of different action strategies, should help us all to stimulate further action in creating barrier-free environments as we return to our own countries to renew the struggle, in the spirit of hope.

There is a sense among women
that we are on the brink of a future
that is at once known and unknown,
linked with our present experience
yet beyond it and different from it.

We have tapped our roots
and found them rich and deep.
We have made promises
and travelled miles to keep them.

We have been touched, called, challenged
by life and by each other
to a future of constant journeying into
wilderness that is not desolate but rich.

Our choices along the way create and shape
what we discover at the end.
What happens on the journey is what
human kind will become.

American Sister of Mercy

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Appendix 1

Respondents to requests for data to prepare this paper

School Systems

Government

Ministry of Education, Victoria.
Director General of Education, South Australia
Ministry of Education, Western Australia
Department of Education and the Arts, Tasmania
Australian Capital Territory Ministry for Health, Education and the Arts.
Northern Territory of Australia Department of Education

Non-Government

National Catholic Education Commission
Catholic Education Commission, New South Wales
Catholic Education Office, Victoria
Queensland Catholic Education Commission
Catholic Education Office, Tasmania
Catholic Education Office, Australian Capital Territory

Tertiary Institutions

Australian National University
Bendigo College of Advanced Education
Charles Sturt University
Deakin University
Griffith University
Hawthorn Institute of Education
Institute of Catholic Education
La Trobe University
Monash University
Murdoch University
Northern Territory University
Queensland University of Technology
South Australian College of Advanced Education
South Australian Institute of Technology
University College of Southern Queensland
University of Canberra
University of Melbourne
University of Newcastle
University of New South Wales
University of Queensland
University of Southern Queensland
University of Sydney
University of Tasmania
University of Technology, Sydney
University of Wollongong
Victorian College of Agriculture and Horticulture
Victorian College of the Arts
Victorian University of Technology
Western Australian College of Advanced Education

Others

Affirmative Action Agency
Jocelynne Scutt
Margaret Thornton
Australian Committee of Directors and Principals/Australian Vice Chancellors Committee
Equal Employment Opportunity Unit, Commonwealth Public Service Commission
Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
State Training Board Victoria
Women's Bureau, Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training